Women, Released From War Work, Turn Energies to Clubs

Membership Increase in Last Year Exceeded That of Previous Ten Years

THE membership of women's clubs has increased more in the last year than it did in the ten years before the war, according to the rolls of New York clubs. The average increase is estimated as 10 per cent, while the membership of women's clubs was practically at a standstill for the ten years preceding the war.

Clubwomen give two reasons for this increase. First, they believe that many women who did Red Cross work, sold Liberty bonds, served with the Council of National Defense and the like turned to women's clubs as a field for their energies when war work stopped. Second, the programs of all women's clubs have shown a change to topics of broader and more vital interest than in the days when "literatoor" was the chief subject for programs.

Women's clubs and the power of organization which they had inculcated in all women throughout the country were appreciated during the war. In many communities the clubs had been in the beginning more or less radical organizations. They had represented in the early days the reprehensible "new woman" and had the place which suffragists took later.

In a Decline.

However, late in the nineteenth century many of our most advanced women's clubs had become innocuous institutions with little to recommend them save their machinery of organization. They "studied" Browning and Keats. Some of those more flippantly inclined believed in keeping up with the best sellers, mixing "Pollyanna" and Harold Bell Wright in with quotations from Shakespeare and Dickens.

Of course, there were exceptional clubs that took up civic problems and passed voluminous resolutions, sometimes to real effect. But so thoroughly was the line of club work conventionalized that few organizations of the kind, whatever their purpose, could think of anything besides literature and music as subjects for their programs.

The story is told of a women's club up state which was organized while the women of New York were agitating for suffrage for the purpose of working for the cause. In the campaigns this club did effective work in its district. The year following the winning of suffrage one of the campaigners from New York City happened to meet the president of the club.

"And now that we are full fledged citizens what has your club been doing?" the suffrage worker asked.

"Well, this winter we studied Ibsen," replied the club president, satisfiedly, "and we are planning to take up Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells next year."

The War Stepped In

The suffrage worker was speechless, and perhaps it was just as well. The war interrupted the Wells-Shaw program, and those same clubwomen made a record in Red Cross and Navy League work.

Wherever the homework machine of the war wanted the coöperation of a town or county they found that the work of getting the women together was much easier than they had expected. A sale of Liberty bonds was scheduled, say, for a small town. The woman's committee of the Liberty Loan appealed to the chamber of commerce for the woman to head the work locally. Their representatives were directed to the leading clubwoman of the town. Maybe she had just finished a paper on Carlyle, or an interpretation of Turner. She turned with perfect grace to putting a local Liberty Loan committee to work.

"There's Mrs. Adams," she told the government's representative. "She knows how to plan bazaars and can always sell everything at her booth. She's just the one to put in charge of these booths where we'll sell Liberty bonds. She always knows what young girls to pick to help her, too.

"And there's Miss Wallace—she understands business and money and per cents. Besides, she wears very becoming hats. She is the very person to canvass the business men for subscriptions. She's a wonder at selling tickets.

"Now, Abby Ellis is just the person to keep the office and check up all that the others are doing and tell them how far they've gone each day. She's always secretary of something."

And so on the clubwoman went until she had the machine in working order, efficient and with no waste effort. She knew organization, even though she had used her knowledge up to that time on nothing more vital than getting out musical and literary programs.

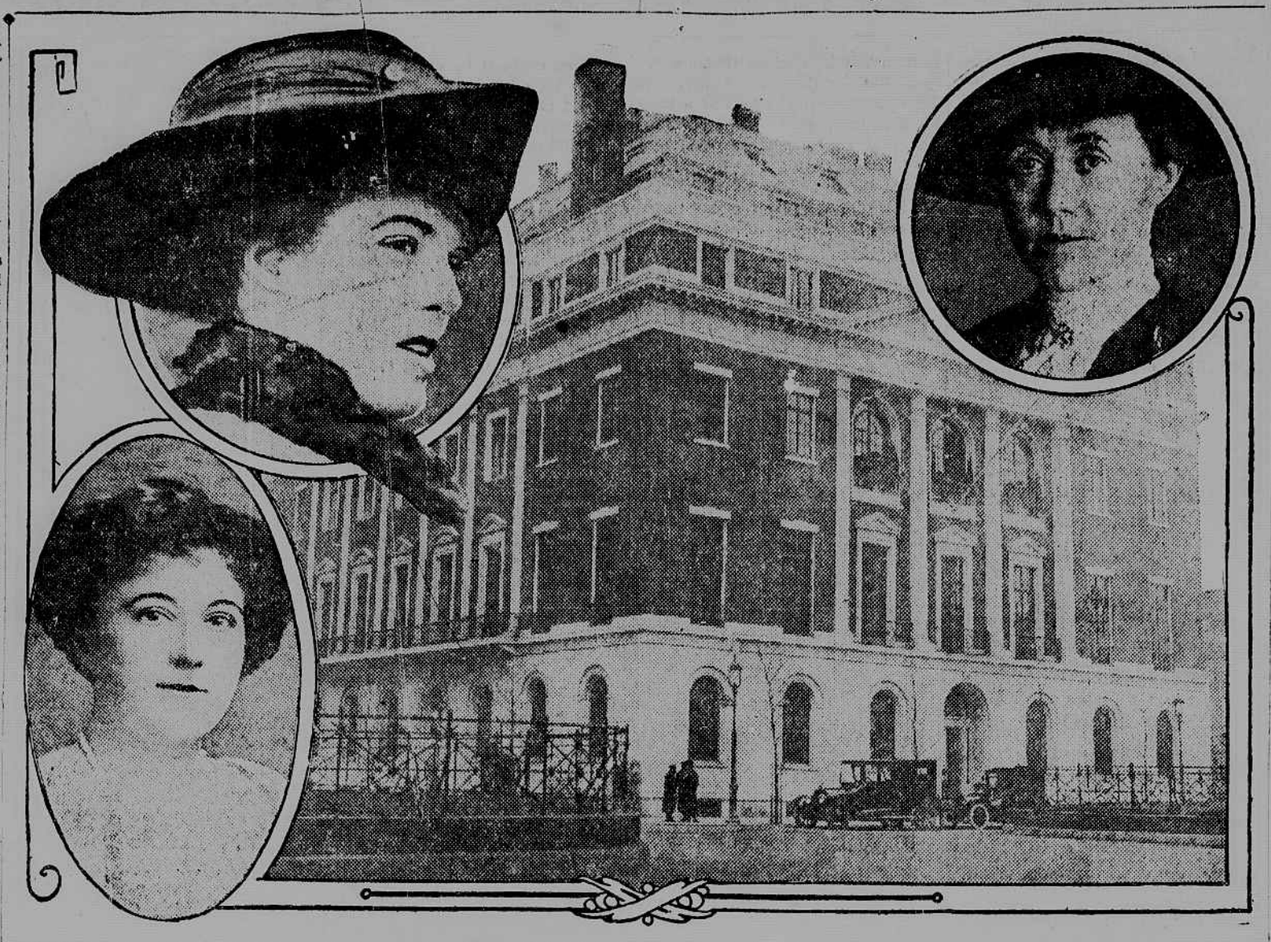
Many women besides the clubwomen joined the war work committee. Whatever their bridge or dancing proclivities before April, 1917, they lost interest for the more serious work of helping win the war. Some of the women who had apparently led the most frivolous lives up to that time did splendid pieces of work in the war. And it is these women who are swelling the numbers of the clubs to-day, according to clubwomen.

With nothing left to do in war work or relief work, many of the volunteer war workers want to continue doing things that they consider worth while. The clubwomen believe that it is these women who are swelling their ranks. The younger women are also taking more interest in the clubs which before the war were distinctly their mothers' province.

The increased numbers of college women in business have brought new members to the college women's clubs in the cities. The waiting lists of all the business and professional women's clubs are increasing daily. The clubs cannot take care of the women who want to join them.

"The Bryn Mawr Club has increased so greatly since the war," said Mrs. F. Louis Slade last week, "that the clubhouse it now has simply can't accommodate the prospective membership. A move will have to be made to another building. Smith College graduates, who until recently used the Women's University Club, are planning a club of their own. The University Club has such a long waiting list that practically no one can get in.

"One reason for the increase in the membership of many of the city clubs," continued Mrs. Slade, "is the fact that the war work they did accustomed many women to undertake to do many more things than they believed they could before the war. They have interested themselves in their college campaigns, in the thrift campaigns and the like. They find their clubhouses a good meeting place for affairs not having to do with family life.



THE Colony Club, one of New York's best known organizations for women, and three of its officers. In the upper left hand corner is Mrs. J. A. Burden; opposite is Mrs. A. Gordon Norrie. The third picture is that of Mrs. V. Everit Macy

After Selling Liberty Bonds and Doing Red Cross Work a Life of Inaction Was Impossible

Her First Work

"Some women, like myself, never worked in an office until they did war work. Many of them have taken up other office work and like to belong to clubs where they can meet for lunch and where they can entertain business friends."

The programs which women's clubs scheduled this year show a different tone from those of the Browning-Ibsen days. Of real literary clubs there are a few, but even some of them have turned to subjects of broader aspect.

The committee on literature and art of the Colony Club has a course of lectures decidedly showing the trend of the times. Its regular program covers a variety of subjects, including literature, art, music, women in industry, women in politics. The first of the year this committee, in addition to the regular program, planned a course of lectures on pending Federal legislation by Mrs. Maud Wood Park. Mrs. Park was the Congressional chairman for the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and was recently elected president of the League of Women Voters.

The lectures included such topics as "The Way the Congress Works," "Hope for the Toilers," "New Safeguards for Mother and Child," "Education for Citizenship," "The Trouble With the Food Supply" and "The Best Use of National Resources."

The committee on literature and art of the Colony Club numbers as its members Mrs. James A. Burden, chairman; Mrs. V. Everit Macy, Mrs. Reginald Fincke, Mrs. A. Gordon Norrie and Mrs. Allen Tucker.

The Women's City Club of New York is studying the city departments this year. March will be devoted to the Department of Public Charities. During February the club took up the Department of Education, and in April the subject will be the Department of Correction.

The program of the Women's University Club for January and February showed variety. One afternoon was given to an illustrated talk on Japanese flowers and vases; on another Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch spoke upon "The Truth About Europe." Mrs. Gutzon Borglum, chairman of the art committee, was responsible for an exhibition of Batiks from the Noank studios.

Mrs. George D. Hewitt, of Carthage, N. Y., president of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, says she believes the tendency toward an interest in civic and governmental problems is perceptible in all of the women's clubs with which she is in touch.

Politics and Bolshevism

"Politics, economics and problems relating to the Bolsheviki are the subjects of most interest in women's club circles to-day," said Mrs. Hewitt last week. "Hundreds of club programs are sent into the federation, and all of them show that their members are studying for their new duties of citizenship."

An example in New York City of the increased interest in broader problems is that evidenced in the growth of the Government Club. Mrs. George Owens was elected president of this club in May, 1918. The membership at that time was eighteen. The purposes written in the constitution were "to promote among women a practical knowledge of the methods of government and to aid in the administration of laws pertaining to women and children."

Speakers of national reputation have addressed the Government Club, and the programs provoke a fair discussion of civic and Federal government problems. The membership of the club has increased from eighteen women in 1918 to more than one hundred and fifty.

Home Rule for India One of the World's Greatest Political Experiments

By Eugene S. Bagger

THE enactment of the Government of India bill granting a large measure of home rule to the peoples of the Indian Empire opens a new chapter in world history. Under the provisions of this monumental piece of reform legislation practically one-fifth of the human race—for the population of India amounts to hardly less—enters upon a new era of development.

To be sure, the new law does not confer full self-government on the three hundred millions of Indians or elevate the Empire to the status of a British dominion like Canada or Australia. Nevertheless, the act has an epoch-making significance in this, that it constitutes an attempt, for the first time in history, to naturalize the ideas and methods of Western parliamentary democracy—above all, its fundamental principle of the mutual responsibility of the governing and the governed—in the native soil of India. It is, next to the adoption of Western technical civilization and governmental procedure by Japan, the most momentous endeavor to bring East and West together, or, rather, to confer upon the East the benefit of Western political invention and experience. It probably is the largest scale political experiment ever undertaken in "cold blood," so to speak, as a result of a calm and comprehensive scientific inquiry.

LORD CHELMSFORD, Viceroy of India, under whose direction Indian home rule will be put into effect

India's Future

The new Indian constitution is based on the so-called Montagu-Chelmsford report, more accurately described as the Report on Indian Constitutional Reform, submitted to Parliament by Mr. Edwin S. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India. The bill, elaborated upon the findings of their investigation, which extended through the period of a year, was passed by Parliament on December 5 last and received the royal assent on December 23. The character and scope of its form can best be summarized in the following words of the concluding chapter of the Montagu-Chelmsford report:

"Our conception of the eventual future of India is a sisterhood of states, self-governing in all matters of purely local and provincial interest, in some cases corresponding to existing provinces; in others, perhaps, modified in area according to the character and economic interests of their people. Over this congeries of states would preside a central government, increasingly representative of and responsible to the people of all of them; dealing with matters, both internal and external, of common interest to the whole of India; acting as an arbiter in interstate relations and representing the interests of all India on equal terms with the self-governing units of the British Empire. In this picture there is a place also for the native states."

As can be seen, the new constitution establishes a federal system in conformity with the multifarious racial and geographical units of which the Indian Empire is composed and topped by a central government representing the King-Emperor.

After the Great Mutiny

Before describing the arrangements and working of the constitution, it will be well to recall that, sweeping as the new departure is, it was preceded by preliminary measures that may, in a sense, be considered its foundation. The government of India was transferred to the British Crown from the Honourable East India Company in 1858, following the Great Mutiny that had exhibited the shortcomings and incompetencies of private administration. The first step to introduce an element of representative participation by natives was made soon afterward, in the first Council of India bill of 1861, which provided for a council each for the Viceroy and the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. These councils consisted mostly of British officials, but two native Indians were nominated to each by the Crown.

Lord Ripon's bill of 1888, regulating local self-government, whetted the appetites of educated Indians for further extension of the principle of representation. It was to provide a channel for this growing desire of the Indian upper classes to participate in the conduct of public affairs that the Indian National Congress was suggested, in 1889, by Lord Dufferin. This body was merely a sort of country-wide debating society, open to anybody who might wish to attend; but it was within its framework that the Indian constitutional opposition, aiming at slow political reform through concessions gained from the Crown and based on education of the masses, developed in the course of the subsequent decades. The second Council of India bill of 1898 introduced the elective principle, in an extremely limited form, and extended to the Indian members of the viceregal and provincial councils the right of interpellation and authorized discussion of the budget. The franchise was based on rate-paying and education, only university graduates being qualified in the second instance; but it is interesting to note that within its restricted scope the franchise was open to men and women alike. In this way woman suffrage was introduced in India long before any European country adopted it.

An Indian to the Cabinet

These concessions were substantially widened by the Morley-Minto reforms of 1908-'09. The Legislative Council was enlarged, native members were empowered to move resolutions on important subjects and to ask supplementary questions. Also, for the first time an Indian, Mr. (now Lord) Sinha, was appointed to the Cabinet Council of the Viceroy. But the most significant step was the appointment of two Indian members to the Indian Council at Whitehall, the British governmental department dealing with Indian affairs.

In a sense, these measures can be regarded as the predecessors and groundwork of the new constitution. There is, however, an all-important difference in this, that the old councils had been mere debating societies, with no decisive voice in legislation or administration whatever. The new provincial councils established under the Montagu-Chelmsford law, on the other hand, are, although within a limited range of subjects, as explained below, real legislative bodies endowed with full rights of parliamentary criticism and with a genuine constructive jurisdiction. It must be emphasized, however, that al this refers only to the provincial councils and not to those attach d to the central government.

The differentiation between central (or, as it would be called in America, federal) government and the provincial (state) governments is the most striking feature of the new constitution, not only in the matter of machinery and procedure, but also in that of underlying principle. Home rule will obtain only in the provinces; in the central government viceregal prerogative remains essentially supreme, and the representative bodies, though widened, will, in substance, retain their consultative character.

The provisions of the new constitution for the central government of India are in the main as follows: The supreme executive power will remain vested in the Governor-General (viceroy) in council. The Executive Council (cabinet) of six, with one Indian, is enlarged to an unlimited number, but will probably consist of eight members, with at least three Indians, all appointed. The Legislative Council (hitherto of forty-two appointed and twenty-seven elected members) will henceforward contain one hundred and forty members, of whom one hundred will be elected by direct suffrage, each member representing an average of two million inhabitants. This Legislative Council will form the lower chamber of the Legislature, the upper chamber being the Council of State, with forty official (appointed) and twenty elected members. The Viceroy will retain full veto power over all legislation, and the way is left open for him to obtain appropriations in face of legislative opposition; also, to force through measures essential to the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India.

Provincial Reforms

Far more sweeping are the innovations in the domain of provincial government; and it is this chapter that presents the most interesting and unique feature of the constitution, the so-called "diarchy."

The substance of this system can best be described as a bifurcation of governmental powers. The functions of administration are divded into two classes, one bearing the name "reserved subjects," the other is that of "transferred subjects." The "reserved" group includes all governmental duties of a heavier and more technical character, like magistracy and the police, land revenue, irrigation, forests, industries, harbors, and university education. These functions are put in charge of the governor in executive council with his official colleagues. The "transferred" group contains the remaining functions: Control of local government, roads and bridges, sanitation, excise agriculture and primary education. These duties will be intrusted to a cabinet drawn from the (elected) legislative assembly. The governor will form the connecting link between the two administrative compartments. Each section will be fully responsible within its own sphere.

THE Right Hon. Edwin S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, who submitted the Indian home rule bill

Ten years hence a parliamentary commission will go out from England to India to supervise the results of the system. If the report is favorable, further subjects will be transferred to the native ministers, and this process will go on till the "official" half of the administration disappears and full self-government is attained.

Commenting upon the new Indian constitution, Mr. Rustom Rustomjee, formerly editor of "The Oriental Review," of Bombay, says:

"The home rule scheme as embodied in the Montagu-Chelmsford report and the act of Parliament based thereon, ought to be, and is actually, welcomed by all enlightened Indian patriots as the pledge of a better and brighter future for the peoples of India as well as the entire British Empire. It is a piece of consummate statesmanship and furnishes the most satisfactory foundation upon which to build up, by a slow process of education and evolution, the edifice of full self-government within the British Commonwealth, such as possessed by Australia, Canada or the Union of South Africa."

Mr. Rustomjee is a Parsee, or member of the community professing the ancient religion founded by Zoroaster. It is perhaps the most progressive of all Indian religious groups and counts among its membership many of the prominent industrial, financial and educational leaders. Mr. Rustomjee has spent considerable time in Europe, chiefly in England, and is now a resident of New York City.

Elements of Success

"The factor upon which the entire working of the new constitution turns is the attitude on the one hand of the Indian civil service, composed of British, or rather Anglo-Indian, officials, and, on the other, that of the educated class of Indians, who are destined to assume political leadership under the new enactment," Mr. Rustomjee declares.

"The difficulties confronting the Indian civil servants under the scheme must be duly appreciated. It means, on their part, voluntary renunciation of a considerable portion of the authority hitherto exclusively enjoyed by them.

"The achievements of the Indian civil service in the way of bettering the conditions of the country and administering the law with the traditional British sense of fair play cannot be overestimated. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that in the course of years the civil service developed a well defined complex of vested interests. Enlarging the sphere of native participation in the government will necessarily infringe, to a considerable extent, upon these vested interests.

The Present Unrest

"The present unrest in India, of which we hear so much, is due, in part, to the displacement of Brahminical power through the spread of popular education. In this process the British government champions the interests of the people against those of the leaders."

Another difficulty to handicap the working of home rule is, according to Mr. Rustomjee, the fact that there is in India no sense of nationality corresponding to the principle upon which modern European states are founded.

"Representative government," Mr. Rustomjee holds, "is based on the conception of national unity and a national will. Law, in a democracy, is the expression of the common will of the people.

"Now these ideas, national unity, national will, are utterly alien to India, except in the educated upper class. India is not a nation; it is a conglomeration of a vast number of races and religions. In India, as in the East generally, religious differences count a great deal more than differences of race and language. The real cleavage in India is that between Hindu and Mahometan. Law in India is a matter of religion, not politics. It will be an enormous educational task to accustom all these peoples and denominations to the idea of one law for all."